

# SAVE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FROM THE COLLABORATORS OF BOURGEOIS RULE

## The 'Peace Dove' And Indian Working People

One of the principal objectives of Freedom Struggle, —peoples' emancipation from exploitation, could not be realised. Instead, a bourgeois state was established. In the post-independence period, to keep the peoples' growing resentment against exploitation under control, on the one hand and for the speediest and widest possible development of capitalist economy on the other, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the ruling party formulated some internal and foreign policies of the government. The party that lauded most these policies was the CPI, so much so that P. C. Joshi, the then Secretary, declared 'Nehru is progressive, Patel reactionary. Let us support Nehru and attain socialism, step by step'.

It was at this period, in a situation surcharged with to hurrahs to Nehru, only our Party guided and taught by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, exposed the class-content and class-objective of these policies. It showed to the people that in the name of planning, socialism and all that, the bourgeois government was extracting money and toil from the oppressed common people, in order to spend hundreds of crores of rupees to build an 'infra-structure' whose principal beneficiaries would be the industrialists, the traders and the jotedars.

By massive public investments of peoples' money in big dams, bridges, high ways, electric and irrigation projects, this 'infra-structure' was being built which was giving artificial stimulation to the economy by placing orders for machineries and their accessories to the industrial units, that is to say, providing the market to keep the wheel moving. The industrialists would reap fabulous profits at the cost of public money. Secondly, the very infra-structure that was being built would minimise overhead costs and augment the profits of the capitalists including the big farmers. A bare reappraisal of the huge public investments to the tune of Rs. 38,000 crores, so far made, will show how correct was the analysis.

About Nehru's foreign policy, of so-called 'non-alignment' it was our party alone that sounded the note of warning that this 'non-alignment' never meant, non-alignment to capitalist law of development, rather it was nothing other than the reflection of the reality in the internal economy. The policy of 'non-alignment' was therefore punctuated by the desire of speediest and widest possible development of the capitalist economy. It was the device to utilise the contradiction between the two camps into which the world was divided, the Socialist Camp and the Camp of Imperialism-Capitalism, in order to accelerate and consolidate the capitalist base of the economy. For this, a relatively peaceful world situation was necessary. So, Nehru was for it. Again, as a developing capitalist country, whenever, the world imperialist powers tried to exert pressure and dictate unfair terms to India, Nehru handled the Socialist Camp headed by Soviet Union as a counter-balancing force. This definitely helped to improve the leverage and bargaining strength against the imperialist power or powers. But whenever the world community of bourgeois Interests so demanded a containment policy against Communism, Nehru proved his loyalty. So, Nehru, in the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, was "a living microphone in the hands of the Indian monopolists". They projected his image and his subtle diplomacy was reflecting the complex process of contention and collaboration with world imperialist powers which the growing and aspirant Indian bourgeoisie wanted so much for its own development and consolidation. By this process, the Indian capital was not only giving birth to monopoly finance capital and financial oligarchy but gradually expanded its market by export of capital and was emerging with all the characteristic features of imperialism.

Our Party, alone, was trying its utmost to make the people politically conscious of these developments by lifting their standard of class-consciousness, and power of political

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analysis and judgment. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings and analyses were all there to serve this historic purpose.

The social-democratic parties, particularly the CPI where most of the present CPI(M) leaders were the front-ranking leaders then, were, on the other hand, distracting the attention of the people from this basic reality, by lauding to the sky the various policies and measures of Nehru.

They were defining the foreign policy of Nehru as a policy of "Peace and Progress" and was calling him the 'Peace Dove'. They were telling the working people to come in active support of the economic planning as it was 'progressive' and even a 'socialist measure'?

So, it was a time when Jawaharlal was flying 'Peace Dove' amidst cheers and clappings joined by the social-democratic leaders, but deeper down, the solid edifice of a modern bourgeois state was being laid by fascist devices, extracting blood and toil of the Indian working people.

### Indira Socialism—the foundation stone of Fascism

Barring the interregnum of Lal Bahadur's brief spell, started the regime of Sm. Indira Gandhi, who was the ablest successor of Jawaharlal's policies. Thanks to the unstinted support and cooperation of CPI and CPI(M), the ruling Congress under her leadership managed to keep in power for a fairly long period of eleven years, pursuing out-and-out fascist policies and devices. At the general election of 1967, the wave of anti-Congressism was so much that in nine states, non-Congress governments were installed and first UF government was established in in West Bengal.

The policy of 'non-interference of police in legitimate democratic mass movement' enunciated by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and accepted by the government as a guiding principle was put to practice by our Party's representative in the labour ministry. This created tremendous enthusiasm among the oppressed people and a spurt in working class movement. The monopolists and vested interests saw red rag in it and conspired to topple the ministry within a very short time and they succeeded with the help of Indira ministry at the centre.

The people of West Bengal gave a fitting rebuff by installing the second UF government with a massive mandate at the 1969 poll. If that unity could be maintained then the picture of Indian politics today would have been entirely different. But the CPI(M), following a sectarian line with the sole object of monopolising governmental power, started inter-party clashes, brought extreme disunity amongst the left and democratic parties and forces, resulting ultimately in the fall of the United Front government. To cover up their sectarian politics, they evolved at that time the queer theory of "class-based front" and negated entirely the necessity of united front of left and democratic parties.

Our Party, till the very last moment, earnestly tried to keep the unity of the left and democratic forces intact and approached all the parties including the CPI(M) with some concrete proposals. But the CPI(M), by rejecting our proposal outright, frustrated all our attempts for restoring the unity.

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# Save the People's Democratic Movement from the Collaborators of Bourgeois Rule

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Even after the rigged election of 1972 in West Bengal when people were groaning under the crushing burden of Congress misrule, our party, time and again, tried to develop a people's movement forging a united front of left and democratic parties on the basis of a minimum common programme. But the CPI(M) not only refused to respond to our move by calling this proposal 'unrealistic', but actually frustrated its possibility by moving with its fanciful theory of 'issue-based combination' or 'joint action' [CPI(M)'s Central Committee Resolution—People's Democracy, July 29, 1973].

Meanwhile in 1969, Indira Gandhi, in her design to project a so-called 'radical' image of the party took some social democratic measures including nationalisation of fourteen scheduled banks. For, she knew that only by these fascist devices, the Congress could get a lease of life for sometime more, otherwise there was the danger of total rejection of the party by the people. The so-called 'radical' wing within the Congress, representing the social democratic trend and which stood for the defence of the aggregate interest of the capitalist class supported her. But the conservative section known as 'Syndicate' standing for the defence of individual interests of the monopolists, was opposed to this stance and measures. The feud between the two was sharpest and came to the open when, in the Presidential election, Indira Gandhi set up V. V. Giri as a candidate against her Party's nominee. The Party was split into two—Congress(O) and Congress (R). The CPI and CPI(M) hailed Indira Gandhi and all her social-democratic measures and fascist devices and helped her in her design to project a so-called 'progressive' image only to deceive the people and consolidate capitalist rule in our country.

Long before that, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our Great leader and teacher, cautioned the Indian working class that "fascism requires for its growth and development, mass backing. It is impossible to have the support of the people unless their imagination can be captured and sentiment won over...To capture the imagination of the people and enlist their voluntary support is needed a so-called radical programme, containing so-called socialist promises to the people and patriotic platitudes, which Social-Democracy furnishes. In fact, it is not conservatism but Social Democracy, that has the political danger of fascism in it..."

[ 'Call of the Hour'—Socialist Unity—Vol No 1, (New Series), July 1962. ]

CPI, came in direct political alignment with Indira Congress by supporting its steps and measures and defining them as 'progressive steps' and even 'Socialist measures'! CPI(M) also tried its best to come in political alignment with Indira Congress but having failed to do that although verbally opposed Indira Gandhi in electoral battle, supported all her measures and fascist devices as 'progressive' ones. Innumerable utterances, writings and political resolutions of this Party published in its organs will speak volume in support of this contention of ours. Sufficient to quote just two specimens from their own documents.

After the split of the Congress, the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its statement said, *inter alia*, "the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a **healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists...it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people.**"

(People's Democracy—February, 15, 1970)

Then, "with the desperate moves initiated by the Syndicate to take exclusive control of the part and Government in the interest of the avowed reactionary forces and the resistance against these moves put up by Indira Gandhi and her following, the political crisis in the country has taken a **new turn. A Country-wide front against the avowed reaction and its nefarious political line has come**

**into existence and the battle is on**, with initial success (Victory of Sri V.V. Giri in the presidential election—writer) against the Syndicate and the vested interests it represents"

(People's Democracy—November, 9, 1969).

Such specimens are not wanting.

By giving a thorough exposure of this social-democratic treachery the working people were alerted by our Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

"The Central Committee is of the considered view that the present conflict inside the Congress, centring round the Syndicate-group and the Indira group, is not a struggle between the monopolists, collaborating with imperialism and the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie," a close ally of "people's democratic revolution," or, in general terms, between reaction and progress. It is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie representing aggregate interest of capitalism. The correct stand, in this regard, would, therefore, be to take advantage of this contradiction, try to increase the rift between them and utilise it in developing mighty mass movements and accelerating the revolutionary preparation in our country."

(Proletarian Era, October, 3, 1969)

So, it is apparent that by not forging a left-democratic united front these parties deprived the people of a broad platform and instrument of struggle against the mounting onslaughts of capitalist exploitation in general and Indira's fascist devices in particular and by eulogising her so-called "radical" measures, the working people were both organisationally and politically disarmed and pushed before the frontal attacks of the bourgeoisie. Such indeed is the most nefarious role of social democracy.

## Congress 'Socialism' and 'Planning' for whom?

Since Jawaharlal Nehru's time till today, in the name of 'planning' and behind the pep talks of 'Socialism', thousands of crores of rupees have been extracted from the poor people by way of ever-mounting burden of taxation, enhancing rent, printing of currency notes and all these have been spent in the massive public investment. But who have been the principal beneficiaries? The parties like CPI, CPI(M) and others have sung the song of paean to all these steps and measures and called the people to stand in support.

Even in that distant past, during the fifties, our great departed leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, pointed out: In a class-divided capitalist society, the talk of planning cannot be without class-motive and class-purpose. It must have a definite class-content. Which class or classes, it serves? He called upon the toiling people to judge the particular measures from this basic class-angularity.

Comrade Ghosh, himself, provided the all-important analysis of the class-design and objective of planning, thus:

"Like ours, the relatively backward capitalist countries are after concentration of capital and planning in order to achieve rapid industrial development, catch up with the powerful capitalist countries and emerge as the strong competitors in the foreign market. But all the same, both in the advanced and relatively less advanced capitalist countries, the same process of concentration of private capital, development of state capital, fusion of the two into state monopoly capitalism thereby reducing the state subservient to the monopolists and reduction to the minimum of mutual competition between individual capitalists through planning, is at work."

(Quoted from "On Fascism" P. 61)

So, Comrade Ghosh, warned that the 'planning' that the bourgeois government was speaking of was the 'planning' of the Tatas and Birlas, whose primary objective was to

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extract the labour power and money by intensifying exploitation, in order to maintain the law of maximum profit and thus helping the bourgeoisie to raise mountain high profits at the cost of people's sufferings and destitution.

Concrete facts and history bear testimony as to which parties stood in defence of this bourgeois design and betrayed the cause of toiling people and which party alone acted as the sentinel of people's cause, its every analysis and guidance having been fully vindicated.

Sm. Gandhi once raised the slogan of 'garibi hatao' which in reality was reduced to 'garib hatao'.

## The Poor Became Poorer

Taking 1960-61, as the base year for wholesale prices, per capita monthly income of Rs. 18 was considered to be the irreducible minimum for bare sustenance. But in that year, 38% of the population had not even that means and they were considered to be below the 'poverty line', meaning thereby that they were in a state of starvation or semi-starvation. This percentage rose to 44 and 53 in 1963-64 and 1967-68. In 1971, it was estimated that 70% of the total population, that is about 29 crores of people were below the 'poverty line'. In an estimate of 1974, in the state of West Bengal, 70% people could spend daily 80 paise and of them 20 % could not have the means to spend more than 44 paise daily.

(Economic And Political Weekly, December 18, 1976)

Pauperisation of the masses is the inevitable consequence of capitalist development. The same law is operating in our country. But this is one side of the shield.

## The Rich Became More Rich

The other side of the shield unfolds the character of 'bourgeois socialism'. The assets and profits of 20 top monopoly houses have increased at a staggering rate.

### Total Assets of 20 Monopoly Houses

Year	Amount
1963-64	Rs. 1,325.7 crores
1975-76	Rs. 5,120.3 crores

That is to say in 12 years, it has increased four-fold. Of these, take the case of the leading two, Tatas and Birlas.:

Year	Birla's Assets	Tata's Assets
1963-64	Rs. 282.9 crores	Rs. 375.00 crores
1975-76	Rs. 1,064.6 crores	Rs. 974.6 crores

And in a single year, 1975-76, these 20 houses bagged a total profit of Rs. 600 crores out of which Birla's individual share was Rs. 130 crores.

## Concentration of land holdings

In 'Bourgeois socialism', the law of Capitalism has its full sway. This is true equally in industrial as also agrarian sectors. Concentration of land holdings and growing 'proletarianisation' of the peasantry are just the two points of the same pole—the law of capitalist development in our country cannot be an exception.

In 1961, 4% of the total peasant households, the big jotedars, had in their possession 24% of the total cultivable lands. In 1971, the same percentage of households had in their possession. 31% of the total cultivable lands. During the last six years, destitution of the peasantry due to acute economic crisis has increased tremendously resulting in accelerated rate of land alienation or concentration at the top.

As a result of this high concentration of land holdings the top layer of big jotedars, bag estimated annual income of Rs. 5,000 crores which is one sixth of the total annual income, generated in the agricultural sector.

## Sluggish Employment Opportunities

### —Unemployment on the increase

One of primary principal objective of any planning, worth the name, should be to increase gainful employments in order to reduce the number of unemployed. But for our country, the experience is just the opposite. With the completion of each 5 years' plan, the number of the unemployed has increased. Let us first examine the

latest census report of 1971. It shows that only about one third of the total population, 18 crores 4 lakhs people had some employments, whatever might have been the rate of earning. So, after about 20 years 'planning' this was the picture. The law of capitalism worked in full swing, throwing in ten years between 1961-1971, 2 crores 14 lakh poor and marginal peasants out of the land to join the army of rural proletariat. The number of peasant households came down from 9 crores 96 lakhs in 1961 to 7 crores 82 lakhs in 1971. The percentage of landless labourers increased and came to 4 crores 70 lakhs. The rate has accelerated during the last six years.

—[Census Report 1971]

## Under-employment of agricultural workers

This ever-swelling army of agricultural proletariat have no regular employment throughout the year. Percentage of unemployed days is ever on the increase. In 1961, one agricultural labourer remained unemployed, on an average, 93 days in a year. According to government estimate, he remained unemployed for 250 days in a year, at the end of the fourth plan.

—[Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committees Report, Third-Fourth Plan]

## Cottage And Small Industries Wind Up

Like the present government, the previous Congress Governments talked of encouraging cottage and small industries to provide employment. But survival or development of small and cottage industries do not depend on the good will of any individual Minister or government but on the inexorable law of development of capitalism. When the economy is at the stage of monopoly capital, small and cottage industries can survive only as ancillaries to big industrial units, they cannot have separate existence as competitors to big industrial units in the market. This truth can be verified from bare facts.

In 1961, 1 crore and 70 lakhs people were engaged in small and cottage industries, but within ten years, in 1971, this number came down to only 64 lakhs, that is to say, 56 lakh people were ejected out of the small and cottage industries.

Let us now examine, the position of urban employment. It is the usual experience that 10 to 15% of the unemployed register their names in Employment Exchanges. Allowing for that, the number of registered unemployed of whom a good percentage is educated unemployed including those having technical skill like Engineers, Technicians, Doctors etc. which stood at 16 lakhs in 1961, exceeded the figure of 10 millions in 1975-76. In West Bengal, this figure is highest with more than 17 lakhs, of which unemployed Engineers exceed 5 thousands.

Add to this figure, the 'involuntary unemployed's, that is, the workers and employees, who were already in employment but thrown out of employment due to closure, lock-out, etc. The number has been swelling due to ever-accentuating crisis. During the nineteen months of Emergency alone, 8 to 10 lakh workers lost their employment due to closure and lock-outs, reduction in shifts or production.

## On whom the burden of Planning Mounts ?

But even for this kind of 'planning', who have provided thousands of crores of rupees ? It is the poor, the famished multitude that have supplied the money.

## Incidence of Taxation

In the year 1950, every Indian paid 7 paise per rupee and in 1965, total tax collection was 3048 crores of rupees. In 1975-76, the figure rose to Rs. 11,000 crores and in 1977, it was the staggering figure of Rs. 12,000 crores. Every Indian is thus, paying now, 18 paise out of a rupee as tax to the government.

Still, the position is not clear. It will be crystal-clear as to who have borne the brunt of this 'planning', if one

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cares to note that about 83% of this huge amount raised by way of taxation, comes from indirect taxation like customs, excise etc. In 1951, indirect tax was levied only on 15 items of goods and in 1955-56, the net collection from this source was only Rs. 145 crores; but today, this indirect tax is on as many as 133 items and the net total collection comes to 4177 crores of rupees. In other words, the incidence of indirect taxes has increased more than 30 times in course of 20 years. Has the income of the people increased?

### Value of Rupee has Dwindled

Because of reckless printing of notes, ever-increasing taxes on commodities, prices have spiralled up as a result of which value of rupee has suffered a steady fall. Taking the value of a rupee in 1964 as the base, it came down to 33 paise in 1974 and only to 32 in April, 1977.

There has not been any proportionate increase in wages or salaries. Let alone the position of the landless labourers and the poor and middle-income peasants, even the workers and salaried employees in industrial sector have also suffered a steady erosion in their real wages because of continuous fall in their share in production. So, in 1950-51, whereas for wages and salaries 62 paise in a rupee of total cost of production were spent, only 53 paise were spent on it in 1972-73.

(Economic Times 14. 2. 77)

In other words whereas the workers have been sermonised to increase production and thus have done, their share in this increase in production has steadily gone down. As a result their purchasing power or real earning has fallen. There has consequently been a lowering down of standard of living.

(For average Indian)

Item of Food	1965-66	1975-76
Cereals (Daily average)	450 gr.	350 gr.
Pulses	6 gr.	4 gr.
Milk (Yearly average)	45 kg.	35 kg.
Edible Oil „ „	6 kg.	3 kg.
Sugar „ „	21 kg.	16 kg.
Cloth „ „	15 metre	10 metre

(Blitz 2. 4. 77)

### Profits and Assets of Industries on the increase

According to RBI survey of 1500 big and middle industrial units, the total value of assets of these units which was Rs. 3,631.6 crores and gross profits Rs. 363.8 crores in 1960-61 but the same were in 1974-75 Rs. 13,187.9 crores and Rs. 1,682.8 crores respectively. In other words, gross profits and total assets increased 5 fold.

(Economic and Political Weekly 9. 4. 77)

It is obvious therefore, that in the name of 'planning' and 'Socialism', the industrialists-businessmen-jotedars, that is, the capitalist class has reaped fabulous profits out of the toil and exploitation of the working people. And in order to guard and defend this 'right of exploitation' of the ruling Capitalist Class, an elaborate arrangement of highly centralised police military and bureaucracy has been built at the cost of thousands of crores of hard-earned money of the poor people.

### Expenditure on Police-Military-Bureaucracy On the Increase

Taking 60 crores as the total population figure in our country, every Indian is paying, on an average Rs. 50/- for the upkeep of the military and Rs. 10/- for the police, the respective figures for total expenditures on these heads being Rs. 3,000 crores and Rs. 600 crores, a year. For the President of Indian State, the daily expenditure from the exchequer is Rs. 17,389, and for the Secretariat of the President and Vice-President the daily figure stands at Rs. 2,794. For the Cabinet the daily expenditure comes to Rs. 37,069 and for the Parliament it is Rs. 1,78,000.

(Budget Papers 1976-77—Quoted in 'Blitz' 23. 3. 77)

### Foreign-debt on the increase

For this sort of 'Socialism' not only the people of this country was axed but loans from foreign countries had to be made. The amount of foreign loan has been on the increase. But the poor people are to pay off the debt. People are paying Rs. 600 crores a year for loan repayment. The total amount of foreign debt in 1975-76 according to Budget figure was Rs. 15,000 crores, of which loan from the USA was about Rs. 2,000 crores, UK Rs. 953 crores, Soviet Union Rs. 230 crores.

### 'Public' Debt to the Indian Financial oligarchy also on the increase—the burden of repayment on the Poor People

'Frying a fish with its own oil'—goes an adage. This is very much true in a capitalist economy. The bourgeois government spends crores of rupees collected out of common man's pocket so as to help the capitalists to mint fabulous profits. Whenever, the government is in dearth of money, it borrows from the financial oligarchy, the top layer of the monopolists and this is called a 'Public borrowing'. People repays the loan spent on the benefit of their exploiters. This mechanism works through budgetary exercises. In 1961, the amount of this kind of 'Public debt' was Rs. 4,000 crores which stood at 12,029 crores of rupees in 1975. From the budget out of the money collected by way of taxation mainly, repayment to this loan goes on. At present about a thousand crores of rupees is thus being transferred from the poor people to the monopolists by this mechanism of loan repayment.

### Combined Exploitation of National and Foreign Capital on the People

Indian Capital has given birth to monopoly finance capital. It is also exporting capital to foreign markets to exploit raw materials and labour power as any other imperialist power although the volume may be small compared to the big imperialist partners. Nonetheless, Indian capitalists are doing so by a process of combination and contention. So, it is also allowing foreign capital to invest in Indian industries although the ratio of foreign equity capital to total Indian capital has been on the decrease. But fact remains, it is the Indian working people who are neglected to-day to combine exploitation of both native and foreign capital whose interest is being protected and guarded by the Indian State machinery.

As on March, 1973, the total volume of foreign equity capital was Rs. 1,816.3 crores of which:

British Capital	Rs. 649.6 Crores
U.S.	Rs. 509.7 „
West German	Rs. 156.2 „

(Economic Times—August 7, 1976)

It is true that the share of foreign capital in Indian market has significantly diminished showing unmistakably the growth and strength of Indian capital at the cost of severe exploitation of the people for which was this exercise of 'Planning'.

So, in 1961 whereas the ratio of foreign capital was 89.2% it came down to 45.4 in 1968 and was only 9% in 1975. The total value of foreign capital in Indian market was Rs. 2,000 crores in 1975.

(Industrial Times—30.8.76)

### Export of Indian capital to foreign markets.

So, according to law of capitalist development, the financial oligarchy in our country have amassed wealth by extracting the labour power of the toiling millions. Again, according to the same law of development of capitalism the aspirant Indian capital is revealing the characteristic features of imperialism by crossing the national frontiers to exploit the foreign market. Today, in different markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and even in developed countries like the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, West Germany

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altogether in 43 countries Indian capital is being exported in the joint ventures covering 29 types of Industries. Out of the total approved 263 such ventures, 80 have started working with a total investment of capital of Rs. 52 crores, besides machineries, industrial inputs, technical know-how and consultancy service exported there. Profits in various forms like return on capital, royalty and fees amounting to crores of rupees are also being repatriated to India. Of late, Indian capitalists are undertaking big ventures and turnkey projects in Middle-East and Africa. Complete railway system, township, aerodrome, tele communication, steel and textile mills are just a few to mention, involving Rs. 10 to 12 thousand crores of rupees. Even, Indian experts are manning railway and planning administrations of some of these countries.

(Economic Times—20th May, 30th June issue).

What is worth mentioning here is that the very fact of Indian capital's assuming more and more imperialist features is a reality tested by the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism and not even denied by the Indian bourgeoisie and its spokesmen is now only stoutly denied by no less a party than the 'Marxist' CPI(M). The Statesman, a mouth-piece of Indian monopoly capital, in its editorial comment of 7th June '76, struck a note of caution to the Indian Government and the Indian bourgeoisie to be skilful and show their tact in handling their relations with the countries where Indian finance capital is working. Otherwise the patriotic factions of those countries might rise against the Indian capital there. But wonder of wonders when we gave a thorough analysis of this imperialist character of Indian capital, CPI(M) in its English organ 'Peoples' Democracy' (30th May, '76) tried to put up a defence and cover up the imperialist character of Indian capital. How eager they are to serve the Indian monopolists!

### 'Planning'—a boon to the rich, a curse to the poor.

By now, is there any slightest doubt as to the class-content and objective of planning. It has benefitted the capitalists who have amassed wealth at the cost of penury and destitution of the toiling people. The Indian financial oligarchy now exports capital to foreign countries to exploit and has become a partner, though a junior partner, in the international trust and cartel of the monopolists. All this was done, during these long thirty years, behind the fanfares of 'progress' and 'socialism' in this land of ever-increasing unemployed and famished people.

In the name of country's development, in various Irrigation projects a total amount of Rs. 9 thousand crores has been spent, Rs. 5,800 crores has been spent on electric development but who were the chief beneficiaries? Surely the industrialists and big farmers. Poor peasants and workers were benefited to what extent?

For the maintenance of these projects, the Government sustains yearly loss to the extent of Rs. 2,000 crores, for the subsidy of the fertilisers for supplying it at a fixed rate (not to the poor-peasants) to the farmers, it spends Rs. 400 crores a year, for the issue price of wheat (to stabilise profit) it now spends almost Rs. 600 crores a year, and for export subsidy Rs. 200 crores as also for modernisation of industries another Rs. 200 crores a year, not to speak of thousands of crores of rupees it spends in the name of repayment of loans both foreign and within the country—all this, this large sum of money, collected from the poor and exploited go to the pockets of the capitalists. Is this the much-trumpetted 'Country's Advancement'? Is this 'Socialism'? Will the exploited people prove their patriotism by clapping these measures?

For the last thirty years, what is going on in the name of 'progress', in the name of 'Socialism' are all these diabolical designs of the bourgeoisie. And the parties like CPI and CPI(M) have told the people to rally round these so-called 'Progressive' measures, have asked the people to wait, to

give time to the bourgeoisie. Whom do they serve? The Proletariat or the bourgeoisie?

### Whose 'State of Emergency' was it?

#### —Recapitulation of experiences of the nineteen months

By clamping emergency, Indira Gandhi Government took away the last vestiges of fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties of the people. While trying to give a political analysis of this incident, the parties backed by bourgeois money-bags were telling the people that it was all because Sm. Gandhi tried to cling to power after the Allahabad Highcourt's verdict went against her. These parties therefore raised the slogan of removing the "dictatorship of one and a half" in the last parliamentary poll. It is but natural that these bourgeois parties would try to cover up the deeper crisis in the social system and its reflection in the political sphere. But what about these self-styled Marxist parties who also resorted to this simplistic explanation just to swim with the current in bourgeois parliamentary politics? They also did not think it their duty to lay bare the deeper crisis in the bourgeois system and carry proper political education to the masses.

That is the reason why on 24th April last, at the mammoth meeting held at Saheed Minar, on the occasion of the 29th Anniversary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party reminded us of the analysis made by our great departed leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as to the underlying reasons and significance of the Emergency. He said: True Sm. Indira Gandhi tried to cling to power after the court's judgment. But this was just one aspect among others. To judge a situation only taking its one aspect is not the Marxist methodology and the Communists do never conclude their reading of a situation from this partial and one-sided analysis. So, for a correct appraisal of this nineteen months, Emergency, we shall have to apply the Marxist method of analysis, we shall have to analyse the events from class-angularity.

Long Back, Comrade Ghosh alerted: World capitalism is now passing through the third phase of intense general crisis and as a part and parcel of world capitalism, Indian Capitalism is in the throes of it, over and above the particular complexities of its own problems. The bourgeoisie in order to stave off one crisis, adopts one plan or measure this moment to plunge into a deeper one the next moment. That is why, to quote Comrade Ghosh, "their every planning is associated with a shadow of crisis".

Peoples' resentment grows, they rise in protest here, there, everywhere—the bourgeoisie fear the doom of the system. To buy time, they curtail peoples' rights and civil liberties, workers, right to strike or their forms of militant struggle, right to voicing protest, organise movements, even the right to dissent are denied. All these are meant to inject life in a crisis-ridden, chaos-discredited decadent capitalist social order.

So, these underlying reasons are to be judged while giving a political explanation to the Emergency that was clamped on the people. It was an Emergency for crisis-ridden capitalism and the bourgeoisie, put to tight corner. It was not at all a question of this individual or that or this party or that party in power. That is why we are not at all interested in the personal criticism of an individual although individuals may have their roles. But the basic question is the system, the class that any of these individual personalities is to defend when he is in government. He or she cannot have any other option than to defend a particular system or the class.

But as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us: "Fascism is more dangerous than naked dictatorship and that it is more deceptive because everywhere it adopts a dual policy of persuasion and suppression". In order to hide the ugly face of repression it resorts to glib talks of so-called radical

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## SAVE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

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measures in 'land reforms' and behind all these slogans bring about a "fusion of spiritualism with technical aspects of science" calculated to dwarf reasoning faculty of human mind resulting in cowardice, slavish conformity, unquestioning loyalty, blindness and fanaticism.

Sm. Indira Gandhi pursued the same very fascist course. The aim was clear. She was to confuse the oppressed masses with high-sounding slogans and drag the oppressed people behind the bourgeois design to perpetuate the rule of Capital.

In the so-called defence of the Emergency measure, she raised the bogey that the right reactionary forces both internal and external were conspiring to destroy the 'progressive' and 'democratic' institutions and measures that had been built up since her father's time and so, Emergency was nothing but a measure, a compulsion to defend 'Progress' and 'socialism' against right reactionary forces. Not only this, she termed it "a blue-print of progress".

So, what was incumbent on anyone really desirous of defeating this fascist trick was to bring it to the understanding of the common people drawing lessons from the history that it was not the so-called 'rightist' section of the bourgeoisie standing for individual interests of the monopolists, forces of reaction no doubt, that posed the danger of fascism, but the so-called 'radical' section, the section representing the social democratic trend, defending the aggregate interest of the capitalist class that was the potential force of fascism. And secondly, it was also necessary to explain to the people that in the context of deepening crisis in the capitalist economy, the so-called 20-point programme was not going to alleviate their miseries in any way. The fundamental question was to bring an end to capitalist order which was the fountain-head of people's miseries.

Our party alone, discharged this historic task. We brought to the people the lessons of history and the integrated analysis of Fascism made by our great departed leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, that instilled a new confidence in the people and provided a clear direction to their task. But the parties making verbal allegiance to 'Marxism' like CPI, CPI(M) and others played a completely different role. What was their role?

CPI openly sided with every step and measure of Sm. Gandhi's Emergency decision. Excepting on some minor questions and details, it stood in unequivocal support to the question of constitutional amendments whereby Sm. Gandhi's Government tried to "institutionalise the Emergency". CPI(M), in an editorial comment of its Bengali Organ 'Deshahitaishi' of August 1, '75 captioned "Two Memorable Days" (30th January and 2nd October—Gandhiji's Birth day and the day of demise—Writer) gave an ovation to Siddhartha Ray's declaration that homesteads would be distributed to the poor people and completed, in the state within those two dates. It also commented that if and when completed, this measure would be a 'bold stride to Socialism'!

Not only this, the leaders of the Polit Bureau of this Party met Sm. Gandhi on 9th April, 1976 to place memorandum wherein "The Party's record, the memorandum asserted, is one of consistently carrying on a political-ideological fight against Rightist policies, whether pursued by internal or external forces, and against policies of the extreme left".

(People's Democracy—25. 4. 76)

By this, the CPI(M) leaders 'assured' the Indira Government that the party was at one with the main political line which it raised in so-called justification of the Emergency and would stand by it.

This party also held that "if these points (20 points—writer) relating to peasants and agricultural labourers are honestly and sincerely implemented, they would give some relief to these sections" (Ibid).

The R. S. P. in the July '75 issue of its English Organ

'The Call' hailed the '20 points Programme' by concluding that it had brought in the possibility of radical transformation of the society and that it would be a big mistake if the leftist parties did not take advantage of this possibility.

Nothing more to comment other than this that the particular role of these parties has once more vindicated the well-known experience and lesson in World Proletarian Movement that with the deepening of crisis in capitalism, the social democracy even throws its mask and comes in open defence of crisis-ridden capitalism and the bourgeoisie and thus serves as the 'last prop' of the system.

### The 'Bitter Pill' Could Not Cure The Ill.

Sm. Gandhi sermonised that in the interest of 'Democracy', meaning bourgeois democracy or the 'Rule of Capital', she had no other alternative than to take up an unpopular measure like Emergency as if to administer a 'bitter pill' to cure an ill. The 'ill' was obviously of Capitalism; but how far she succeeded in curing it?

In one single Central budget (1976-77) by two spells, tax-concessions, subvention, development rebate etc. granted to the capitalists amounted to Rs. 150 crores. Besides, they were permitted by the Government to hike the prices of daily necessities like sugar, edible oils, textile goods etc. Worker's salary increase and increase in D. A. were impounded in C. D. S., minimum bonus was drastically reduced to Rs. 100/- by bringing two amendments to the Bonus Act, whereas, the capitalists had a good time, like never before. Workers were retrenched with impunity, ceiling on dividend was lifted, the capitalists reaped super-profits at a rate never before.

But, all this, it was said, was meant for giving incentive to investment and rise in industrial production. Did it actually happen? No. The inexorable law of capitalism asserted. While the toiling people were fleeced by the capitalists, there was further aggravation of the crisis of market inasmuch as industry was in the grip of more acute recessionary trend. With the further lowering of the purchasing power of the people, the internal market suffered further shrinkage which could be hardly compensated by any appreciable increase in export trade due to loss of relative stability in world capitalist market. Industrial production further languished, rate of idle capacity in industry increased so much so that 8 to 10 lakh people lost their jobs due to closure and lock-outs during the nineteen months of Emergency. Even to-day, newspapers are frequently reporting closure of industrial units. So, the 'bitter pill' did not work.

In the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—the malady is too deep to be cured by palliatives of the bourgeois quacks. It demands the surgical operation of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution.

### 'Two-Party Democracy'-A New Bourgeois Conspiracy.

While giving a thorough and critical analysis of the country's political situation after the last Parliamentary Poll, our Party has shown that the defeat of the Congress at the recent poll is a significant event. But the credit of defeating the Congress does not go to any single Party or individual. The accumulated anger and anti-Congress feelings of the people due to their long and bitter experiences during the last thirty years, and more particularly the nineteen months of Emergency, came to a head, and in absence of a left and democratic united front, have been capitalised by the Janata Party, a bourgeois alternative hurriedly set up within forty eight hours after the announcement of the Poll by the top monopoly houses.

Our Party has analysed: "People were tremendously anti-Congress and determined to defeat Congress. But as their anti-Congressism was not based on anti-capitalism or genuine leftism and class-consciousness, a popular thinking has been carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie among them that all anti-Congress parties, irrespective of their class character, should merge into one to ensure the defeat of the Congress at the polls. They failed to realise that the



## FROM THE COLLABORATORS OF BOURGEOIS RULE

defeat of the Congress is not the defeat of capitalism—the root cause of all problems and miseries of life and that anti-Congressism is not necessarily leftism and revolutionary in character. That section of the common people which being thoroughly disgusted with the protracted misrule of the Congress, was for a change, failed to realise the danger which Two-party democracy poses for democratic movement and class struggle. The bourgeoisie was clever enough to exploit and utilise this sentiment of the people fully by replacing one bourgeois Party by another and initiating the process of Two-party democracy on our soil."

Long before, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh reminded us of the important lesson of history that "in the third phase of intense general crisis of World Capitalism, the bourgeois class generally feels the political compulsion of backing up one or two parliamentary parties as alternative to the one placed in power, when the bourgeois party in power stands thoroughly discredited and people's wrath is directed with increasing vehemence against it. The bourgeoisie at once puts up an alternative before the people, with a view to keeping control over the Governmental power on the one hand and to stave off the growth of a party of the proletariat and hence the possibility of militant mass movements under its leadership."

Before the parliamentary poll, keeping this teaching in view, our Party, approached all the anti-Congress parties who stood for the restoration, preservation and extension of civil liberties and democratic rights along with all the left Parties with a proposal to form a 'broadest possible unity' on the basis of certain principles. Our objective was to bind the parties of the 'unity' to certain political terms, certain principles, for which they would fight. Our second objective was to develop a left 'Core' with all the left parties within the 'broadest possible unity' having the potentiality to emerge in course of struggle, as a left and democratic front. Had our proposal been accepted, then surely it would not have been possible for the Janata Party to go back on promises like release of political prisoners, today. Besides, the left-democratic front would have been a distinct possibility, today, if not on an all-India scale, at least in some of the states.

### The Janata Government— Two Months' Experience.

The Janata Party has been in power at the centre, for the last two months. According to its electoral promises to the people, it has taken some measures like reinstatement of Railway and other employees, withdrawal of 'Objectionable Matters (Prevention of Publication) Act.' This does not in any way negate its character as an alternative bourgeois party set up by the monopoly houses. It would be the height of folly to fondly cherish the illusion that the Janata Party would restore all the democratic and fundamental rights and freedom like freedom to organise strike, legitimate democratic movements etc. Already all the leaders, from the Prime Minister down to petty leaders of this party are speaking against these fundamental democratic rights of the working people.

#### Going back on election promises

The Janata Party has already gone back on its election promises.

#### (1) Release of Political Prisoners.

The most glaring instance is on the question of release of political prisoners. The Government readily withdrew the Baroda Dynamite Conspiracy Case in which, George Fernandes, now a Minister, was implicated. Obviously, the Government did not believe in police report. But strangely however, it has made discrimination as regards other political prisoners including the Naxalites. The Government now says that those who have been awarded punishment on the basis of police-reports would have to complete the full terms of imprisonment. Not only this, various kinds of political pressure is being brought to bear upon the political prisoners and the insulting term of 'bond' is being offered to them. Why this 'double standard'? It is a clear and palpable instance of violation of 'administrative neutrality'. Besides, a political question is to be settled politically, raising of technical, legal question means just by passing this basic approach.

#### (2) Repeal of MISA

Although the Party promised its earliest abolition, if voted to power and in the Presidential address to the first session of the Parliament, assurance was given about its early abolition, it now appears that the Janata

Government is now studying the pros and cons about its abolition!

#### (3) Land Reforms

On 6th April, in his speech in the Rajya Sabha, the Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh said: 'I want to make it clear that agrarian reforms should have come 20 years ago and that many legal complications had now entered them, so that however good the intentions of the Government may be, I have doubt about it completely succeeding now'.

Later, in a peasant (big jotedars) conference the Home Minister assured them that the present Government had no intention to lower the ceiling of lands.

#### (4) Price rise and Gandhian prescription

Let alone other promises, the rate at which prices have been rising and the way the Government is reacting shows little distinction between this Government and the previous Congress Government. The whole-sale price index has already surpassed the peak of 1975. It has risen by more than 15%, the prices of agricultural commodities by about 17%. But the Prime Minister is only exhorting the business community 'to eschew temptation to exploit peoples' needs to raise prices and make unjustifiable gains.' He has also commended to the industrialists 'the Gandhian principle of trusteeship of the wealth'. The top monopolist houses have, of late, responded to assure the Government that they would 'freeze' price rise of commodities 'for six months' obviously to help the Janata Party to go through the 'democratic process' of election, as also to extract further concessions in the coming budget.

#### (5) Issue Price of wheat increased

Let alone taking effective steps and measures to contain price rise, the Government itself is taking such steps and measures that contribute directly to a spurt in price rise. The Government has increased the issue price of wheat by Rs. 5 per quintal to make it Rs. 110/-, obviously to placate the big farmers' lobby of Punjab, Haryana and U. P. This would not benefit the poor and middle peasants in any way. Already the Government is spending Rs. 544 crores from the budget that is from public money collected by way of massive taxation on the poor people as subsidy to fix issue price of wheat. This money is going directly to the big farmers. Now after this increase, the amount will surely exceed Rs. 600 crores mark. Not only this, the big farmers of other agricultural commodities like rice, sugar cane and cotton would surely exact their share of super profits and thus giving a big push to price rise of all other commodities.

#### (6) Demand for Nationalisation of Jute Industry rejected

Retrenchment of thousands of Jute Workers, forced unemployment of many more thousands, deprivation of jute cultivators from fair price, denial of legitimate demands to the jute workers have been so much that all the Central Trade Unions were demanding for long that in the interest of the country's economy, this vital industry should be nationalised. Mr. Mohan Daria, the Commerce Minister has summarily rejected this demand.

#### (7) Refund of C. D. S. and Bonus

The Janata Government has stopped deduction from salaries under C. D. S. but under the same plea of the previous government has decided unilaterally not to return the money so far collected to the employees but deposit it in the Provident Fund. This is a gross violation of the contractual obligation, the government accepted while launching the project. The present government has gone so far as to deny the option to the employees while declaring its decision to credit the money to P. F.

About restoring the minimum bonus to 8.33% the present government is maintaining studied silence.

#### (8) Janata Government's promise of increasing employment

Let alone fulfilling its promise of increasing employment the present government has already come out with a threat of reducing the 'surplus' staff in the Government Offices. This means rationalisation of labour force and increase in unemployment. This has come from no less a person than Sri Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister.

#### (9) Janata Government's attitude to Mass Movements and Workers' rights

Prime Minister, Sri Morarji Desai says openly that the strike and gherao should be things of the past. It means the government will deprive the workers of these legitimate forms of movement. The Janata Party after its May 1, party conference has declared that it believes in 'Two-party democracy' and will strive to install it. It has also said that if the people have grievances, they will be allowed to express it 'through peaceful Satyagraha'. The aim is clear. It wants to restrict and confine mass movements within the narrow bounds of bourgeois parliamentarianism-reformism.

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# SAVE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FROM THE COLLABORATORS OF BOURGEOIS RULE

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## Consistent opportunist role of CPI(M) and its allies

Common people, hard-pressed in the prolonged misrule of the Congress for last thirty years have been after a way out. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our great departed leader and teacher has shown that a real way out for the people from this capitalist exploitation lies in the resolving of three fundamental socio-economic problems e.g. (i) Modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, (ii) uninterrupted industrial development and through these, (iii) solution of the most pressing problem of unemployment. But these three fundamental problems can not be solved so long as capitalism remains, because it is the capitalism that stands in the way. So, the question of alleviating the miseries of the people is fundamentally linked up with the question of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country. But at the present stage of democratic movement, if the left-democratic parties and forces can unite on the basis of agreed common programme and a code of conduct to forge a united front, then it can surely provide the oppressed people with a broad platform and instrument of struggle. It must be a political united front as distinguished from an electoral front, just to meet an exigency.

This political united front of left and democratic parties and forces will surely be an alternative to bourgeois party or parties and go a long way in the advancement of people's struggle for emancipation. Our party has been consistently making efforts towards building up this political united front. Even now, at the time of Assembly elections, our Party strove hard for forming such a left and democratic united front and made such proposal to C.P.I.(M) and other left Parties. Our Party has shown that as distinguished from temporary electoral front or the fanciful 'issue-based combination' of C. P. I. (M) this political united front has relative permanence with a definite programme and code of conduct that will block all sorts of opportunistic alliances by the parties within the front. There shall be a clear direction of the movement and about the allies and enemy as also about the purpose. This kind of political united front can really be a viable alternative to bourgeois party or parties and can definitely serve a historic purpose at the present stage of democratic movement towards the attainment of the goal of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. So, the parties who call themselves leftist or even 'Marxist' but oppose this proposal of our Party are, in reality, showing their opposition to uniting the oppressed people against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. They, in other words, stand for the system and their opposition to bourgeois parties is in reality a fight for place of honour in bourgeois parliamentary system in order to serve the same class, the bourgeoisie.

As far back as in 1967, a united front was developed in West Bengal. Had this unity been sustained, then the political situation in the country would have been different. Surely the united left and democratic Front would have appeared as an alternative before the oppressed masses. But this could not materialise because of C. P. I. (M)'s sectarianism and bourgeois parliamentary opportunism as we have shown earlier. During the last Lok Sabha Poll too, they showed the same kind of opportunism and became an ally of Janata and C. F. D. so much so that the bourgeois press gave an open backing and image-building to Janata, C. F. D., C. P. I. (M) combine in West Bengal.

But C. P. I. (M) did not learn the proper lesson from the last Lok Sabha Poll. Even at that time it evaluated the Janata Party by holding :

"The C. P. I. (M) is clearly of the view that the newly formed Janata Party can not offer a viable alternative to the ruling Congress Party no matter what its leaders claim and profess. It is well known that most of the parties that comprise the Janata Party such as the former Swatantra, B. K. D., Congress (O) and Jana Sangha were voicing their opposition to the ruling Congress from an extreme Rightist point of view, essentially representing the same vested interests which the ruling Congress Party represents. As such, the C. P. I. (M) can neither conceive of any political united front with the Janata Party nor of any electoral front with it with a common programme."

(C. P. I. (M) Central Committee on Ensuing Election to the Lok-Sabha—People's Democracy—February 6, '77)

But what to speak of conceiving it, this Party declared its readiness to enter into an electoral front on the basis of "common agreed programme" with Janata Party and form a coalition Government in West Bengal, "to serve the people". C. P. I. (M) and its allies moved heaven and earth for this but Janata leaders refused. After their attempt being proved abortive, they even tried for 'seat adjustment' and began haggling for seats for days together. This even failed. Now, they declare a front with the allies in the combination excluding our Party and pass it for a 'Left Front' in West Bengal. How much importance these

parties attach to political programme was obvious when very little time was taken to draft it and the leaders of these parties have said that the programme is so flexible that Janata Party will have no difficulty if it agrees to make a coalition Government with these parties on the basis of this programme. Not only this, these Parties openly declare that their fight with Janata Party is of 'friendly' nature and hope that after the election this friendship will be consummated in a coalition. What sort of a 'Left front'!

This so-called 'Left-front' under the leadership of C. P. I. (M) is assuring the people that they would open up industries in West Bengal to give employment to the youths. Just like any other bourgeois parties it is giving false promises to the people only to woo their votes. Because as everybody knows that not to speak of opening new industries, even the existing ones are closing down because of the acute crisis in the economy.

But C. P. I. (M) and its allies are really in a 'friendly competition' with the Janata Party. CPI(M) leaders in tune with the leaders of the Janata Party are assuring the business and industrial houses that "the Left Front would not encourage 'Gheraos'. The Government would intervene if any one was gheraoed. He (Jyoti Babu) said workers had the right to strike and organise Bandhs but these should not be resorted to too often."

(Statesman—21.5.77)

Sri Promode Das Gupta, said in a Press Conference : "We have never taken any programme of 'Gherao'. Nor it is a bold form of movement."

(Ganasakti—11.4.77)

Wonder of wonders is this that by way of self-justification for excluding S. U. C. I., the leaders of these Parties are telling the people that S.U.C.I. is opposed to adhering to 'a Code of Conduct'. It is well known that it is S. U. C. I. that has persistently advocated for adoption of a democratic code as a necessary basis to forge a United Front and formulated it in 1969-70, but C. P. I. (M) persistently refused to abide by it. Had it agreed then the United Front could be saved. But now these parties are telling about Code of conduct. Before that what the people want to know of them is their political conduct, what code of political conduct they are following? If for rehabilitation in bourgeois politics, compromising the working class stand and politics, and capitulation to bourgeois manoeuvre and blackmails be the political conduct that has brought to West Bengal, once a citadel of leftism, the present disarray, then surely SUCI cannot be expected to be a party to that.

## Strengthen SUCI to strengthen leftism and uphold the glorious banner of the working class.

In fine, we appeal to the toiling people that it is SUCI, taught and trained by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leading Marxist philosopher and thinker of the era, that alone has been striving for all these years to build up leftist politics on the sound basis of principle and place it on the edifice of high moral, cultural and ethical values. History testifies to the role of glorious battle of this party. Therefore, to strengthen SUCI is to strengthen the real left-democratic forces in our country.

We have held aloft the red banner of the Proletariat and are confident that millions of our toiling countrymen will come forward to keep this great flag flying.

Our Party candidates are contesting in different States. Our Party appeals to the people of these states to make our candidates victorious because they will be their best representatives inasmuch as they will carry the democratic demands of the people within the legislative forum and fight consistently for their realisation. They will boldly and consistently oppose any bourgeois moves and designs that go against the interest of the toiling people and integrate the struggle within the parliamentary forum with people's extra-parliamentary democratic mass movement. Our Party urges upon the people to stand united like one and come forward man to organise the democratic movements for their survival and emancipation from the capitalist exploitative system on the slogans :

- Give a crushing defeat to Congress
- Foil the new bourgeois conspiracy of installing Two-Party Democracy
- Defeat opportunism of CPI(M) and Allies and their disruptive role in Left Movement.
- Strengthen SUCI to strengthen left and democratic movement in the country.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION

LONG LIVE COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

LONG LIVE SUCI

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE